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SUBJ: DEMARTINO TALLIES THE SCORE ON THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS

SUMMARY: IN HIS MOST AUTHORITATIVE PRONOUNCEMENT SINCE THE CRISIS DEMARTINO JUDGES MORO'S MONOCOLORE "INADEQUATE" AND CLEARLY "TRANSITORY" TO A NEW SITUATION. THE PSI ALLOWED IT TO BE FORMED ONLY TO GIVE THE COUNTRY A GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE MEASURES NEEDED TO CONFRONT THE GRAVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY. DEMARTINO REBUTS BOTH COMMUNIST AND REPUBLICAN CRITICISMS OF THE PSI FOR PROVOKING THE CRISIS, AND MAKES CLEAR HIS PARTY'S AVAILABILITY FOR A DC-PSI GOVERNMENT, ON CONDITION THAT THE DC CONGRESS PRODUCES THE KIND OF "RENEWAL" THE SOCIALISTS AUGUR. END SUMMARY.

1. IN HIS FIRST RECOURSE TO AN AUTHORITATIVE EDITORIAL SINCE HIS BOMBHELL AT END OF YEAR WHICH BROUGHT ON GOVERNMENT CRISIS, SOCIALIST SECRETARY DEMARTINO (AVANTI, FEB. 15) ASSESSES THE RESULTS OF THE CRISIS AND LOOKS AHEAD.

2. DEMARTINO JUDGES MORO'S MONOCOLORE INADEQUATE TO CONFRONT THE ITALIAN SITUATION, AND, THEREFORE, THE EXPRESSION OF A STRICTLY TRANSITORY SITUATION, TRANSITORY BETWEEN THE DEAD CENTER-LEFT AND A NEW FORMULA STILL TO BE REALIZED. INDEED, THE PSI COOPERATED IN ENDING THE CRISIS ONLY TO GIVE THE COUNTRY A

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GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD TAKE THE NECESSARY ECONOMIC MEASURES
"DESIRED BY ALL."

3. DE MARTINO READILY ADMITS THAT THE PSI DID NOT BRING ABOUT THE DECISIVE POLITICAL CHANGE IT AIMS AT THROUGH THE CRISIS; INDEED, THE PSI WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT IT COULD NOT BRING IT ABOUT AT ONE STROKE. NEVERTHELESS, DEMARTINO MAKES CLEAR THAT THE PSI CONSIDERS THE PRESENT SITUATION AN OPENING TOWARD IT, AND MAKES THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS IN REBUTTAL TO HIS PARTY'S CRITICS:

(A) THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM ABANDONS MUCH OF THE FORMER'S "SO-CALLED MEDIUM-TERM ECONOMIC PLAN"; IT ACCEPTS SOME SOCIALIST PROPOSALS AND IS "MUCH LESS INSTANT FROM THAT OF THE PSI AND THE UNIONS." HE FLAUNTS THIS AT LAMALFA AND THE REPUBLICANS WITH WHOM POLEMICS CONTINUE AT A HIGH PITCH. LAMALFA'S PLAN, SAYS DEMARTINO, AIMED INDISCRIMINATELY AT SALVAGING COMPANIES, "CUTTING EMPLOYMENT ADrift"; WHILE THE SOCIALIST PLAN AIMED AT GUARANTEEING INVESTMENTS, EMPLOYMENT, AND SELECTIVE RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMY.

(B) IN PROVOKING THE CRISIS, THE PSI AIMED ABOVE ALL, HOWEVER, "...TO REINTRODUCE MOVEMENT INTO A (POLITICAL) SITUATION WHICH HAD BECOME STAGNANT: AND IN WHICH THE GREATER EVIL WAS TO ALLOW THE ENTIRE LEFT (COMMENT: I.E., INCLUDING PCI) TO BECOME INVOLVED IN A SORT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LARGE INDUSTRIAL GROUPS, BENEFICIARIES OF THE GOVERNMENT FINANCING." (COMMENT: I.E., INFORMAL MOVEMENT TOWARD THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE.)

(C) "THE PSI AIMED TO PUT AN END TO THE POLICY OF THE CENTER-LEFT WHICH HAD OUTLIVED ITSELF. WHAT THE PSI MOST ACUTELY DESIRED WAS TO BE FREE OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY, NOT OUT OF FEAR OR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN UNPOPULAR DECISIONS...BUT THROUGH A CONSCIOUSNESS THAT IT WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO CARRY OUT ITS OWN RESPONSIBILITIES (BECAUSE OF THE EXPIRATION OF THE CENTER-LEFT AND THE PSI'S CONSEQUENT EXCLUSION FROM THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE MORO-LAMALFA GOVERNMENT)."

(D) TO COMMUNIST CRITICISM WHICH "MONOTONOUSLY" WISHED THE PSI TO REMAIN IN THE CENTER-LEFT, DEMARTINO OPPOSES THE PSI'S RIGHT TO TERMINE ITS OWN LINE "IN THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY." HAD THE PSI PLAYED A PASSIVE ROLE, AS ASKED, THE CAUSE OF THE ENTIRE LEFT WOULD HAVE SUFFERED. MOREOVER, THROUGH ITS ACTIONS, THE PSI HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE THE MOST "CONSISTENT" AND "DECISIVE" PHOTAGONIST OF CHANGE TO A NEW POLITICAL SITUATION. "...A NEW PHASE OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE HAS BEGUN...ONE DANGER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN IT IS THE RETURN TO THE FORE OF PROMOTORS OF EARLY ELECTIONS AND DIRECT (ELECTORAL) CONFRONTATION... ..." TO STOP THEM IS NOT THE PSI'S JOB ALONG (AS IT DID THROUGH AGREEING TO ABSTAIN ON THE MONOCOLORE)...IT IS NOW PRIMARILY THAT OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE UNIONS."

(E) WITH REGARD TO THE DC, DEMARTINO NOTES IN PASSING THAT ITS RECENT INTERNAL STRUGGLES HAVE MADE MORE PEOPLE IN IT THAN ONE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED REALIZE THAT A POLITICAL CHANGE REQUIRES AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE PSI. NOW THE DC HAS BEEN PLACED ALONE BEFORE ITS RESPONSIBILITY WHICH IT CANNOT LONG ESCAPE. THE

SOCIALIST INITIATIVE HAS DESTROYED ILLUSIONS OVER A RETURN OF THE PSI TO THE PAST, AND OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO "THOSE CURRENTS" IN THE DC FIGHTING FOR RENEWAL. THE DC CONGRESS WILL SHOW HOW STRONG THE WILL FOR RENEWAL IS IN THE DC.

4. COMMENT: THOUGH DEMARTINO'S INTERVIEW BREAKS NO NEW GROUND FOR SOCIALIST POICY, IT IS NOTEWORTHY IN ITS FAILURE TO REPEAT THE STANDARD FORMULAS. FOR EXAMPLE, NOWHERE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED IS THE LONG-TERM GOAL OF THE ALTERNATIVE OF THE LEFT, OR THE GRADUAL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM, DESPITE TALK OF CREATING A NEW POLITICAL SITUATION. DEMARTINO'S REAL INTENT IN THE PIECE SEEMS TO BE TO SET THE STAGE FOR THE NEXT STEP, A DC-PSI GOVERNMENT. THOUGH IN THE EDITORIAL HE LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT COULD COME ABOUT AFTER THE DC CONGRESS, IF ONLY THE DC ACCOMPLISHES THE KIND OF "RENEWAL" THE PSI WANTS OF IT, WE DBT THAT HE CONSIDERS IT POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS. ALL AUTHORITATIVE SOCIALIST SOURCES WE HAVE SPOKEN TO RECENTLY CONFIRM THAT THE MAJORITY IN THE LEADERSHIP ARE NOW LOOKING TO A DC-PSI GOVERNMENT, BUT FEW CONSIDER IT EVEN POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS. IN ANY EVENT, THE RESULTS OF THE PSI AND DC CONGRESSES WILL BE DETERMINING ON THE TIMING AND THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS THEMSELVES ON THE VIABILITY OF THE FORMULA.

5. FIRM OPPONENTS OF PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT OR THE MAJORITY CAN HOWEVER DERIVE DUBIUOUS DOMFORT FROM THE PSI'S AVAILAIBILITY FOR A DC-PSI GOVERNMENT. ONE CONDITION THE PSI GIVES NO INICATION OF ABANDONING IS SOCIALIST INSISTENCE THAT THERE BE NO A PRIORI EXCLUSION OF PCI SUPPORT, I.E., NO "PREJUCIAL" CLOSURE TO THE LEFT. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THIS IS A UNANIMOUS VIEW AMONG SOCIALISTS, AND HAS BECOME A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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CONSTANT IN PSI POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE PCI AT ALL LEVELS. SOCIALIST SECRETARIAT MEMBER ENRICO MANCA GAVE IT EXPRESSION WITH RESPECT TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN AN INTERVIEW IN LA REPUBBLICA, FEB. 17. "A DC-PSI GOVERNMENT COULD NO LONGER REPRESENT THE LAST LINK OF THE CENTER-LEFT, BUT MUST MARK A BREAK WITH THE PAST, AND THE FIRST LINK OF A COMPLETELY NEW PHASE (LEADING TO THE ALTERNATIVE OF THE LEFT)...NATURALLY THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE ITS PRECONSTITUTED MAJORITY, BUT WITHOUT PRECLUSIONS TH THE LEFT." (MANCA ALSO STATES IN THE INTERVIEW THAT "THE MORE ADEQUATE SOLUTION AT THIS TIME WOULD BE TO BRING THE PCI INTO THE GOVERNMENT OR THE MAJORITY," BUT BY IMPLICATION ACCEPTS THE POLITICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING THIS IN THE NEAR TERM.)
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